

Some Other House
REMARKS

UPON THE

Present Crisis

Humbly Address'd to the

**KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and
BURGESSES, to serve in
the Present Parliament.**



L O N D O N :

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 ON THE
 PRESENT CRISIS
 IN THE
 BRITISH PARLIAMENT

RIGHTS OF THE
 BURGESSES TO SEAT IN
 THE PARLIAMENT



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REMARKS

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THE present Time has been acknowledged, by Persons of different Views and Denominations, to be a Crisis to this Nation. And surely, whoever from a true Regard to his Country, will take an Impartial Survey of all that concerns Her, will look back into past Times, without a partial prejudice or blindness to Persons and Families, for the true Springs of those bitter Streams of Party and Corruption, which have overflow'd this Nation, will cast their

Eyes round them, to see into what Circumstances they have reduced Her, and will look fowards, into a near Futurity, for those Consequences, which must follow, unless timely prevented. Whoever shall do this will admit, tho' perhaps, for different Reasons, that, in all the variety of Changes, which the Virtue and Spirit of our Countrymen, have so often produced, and which the Interestedness and Treachery of those, on whom they depended, have so often rendered ineffectual. The History of *Britain* can hardly instance a Crisis of greater and more general Importance, than the present Period of Time : A Period more dangerous to the very Being of this Nation, and at the same Time, more productive of her Preservation and Prosperity than any which ever preceded it.

Not to presume to mark particularly the Rise and Progress of Party thro' the Series of our History since that Pen, which perhaps alone was equal to the Subject, has already exhausted it ; let us take up the Consideration in a more general Manner, and we shall find it an undeniable Truth, tho' it may seem a Paradox, that, when *Britain* had been a less while Burthen'd with a grievous Debt, harass'd with numerous and heavy Taxes, and alarmed with a large Number of Land Forces maintained in Times of Tranquility

Tranquility, while yet there were Hopes of seeing that Debt paid off, those Taxes diminished, and that Army reduced, while at home our Situation was less embarras'd, and less inconsiderable Abroad, yet was the Prospect of Affairs at that Time, to every impartial Well-wisher of his Country, a more melancholy Scene than even in her present difficult and distressed Condition: For Party Spirit, then almost universally prevailed. That Enemy to all Government, too readily encouraged at all Times in the Countries of Liberty, too frequently and too fatally cherish'd in this, had disguised the Face of all publick Transactions, as it had embittered the Relish of all private Society. Few Men could see but thro' that Medium; and those, who did, either, dared not act upon their own Judgments, or acted with little Weight. Impartiality was accounted a Crime, or, at best, as a Weakness. Opinions, not inconsistent in themselves, had, by the Arts of Knaves, and the Warmth of well-meaning Men, been driven into the greatest Absurdities on either Side. Party Names had been invented to encourage Division and Violence. Men conversed only with those of their own Denomination, and hated every one else, tho' they were utterly unacquainted with their real Principles or Morals. Thus the Nation was divided in worse than Civil War,

as the Consequences of the Division were very near as bad, and the Division more likely to continue upon the same Foot. Both Sides were thus led into Extravagancies by turns, as either prevailed; and mutual Provocations and Injuries fomented Animosities, till Classes and Persons became the sole View, and the publick Virtue of Patriotism was lost in the private Passion of Party. The Constitution was diseased, not past a Cure, but without hopes of a Recovery; because those, who were entrusted with the Care of it, treated the most dangerous Complaints as Affected or Imaginary. Party Spirit had exasperated the Country, Party Spirit had inflamed the Court. Because the Revolution was founded upon a Principle of Liberty, many, who disapproved of that, or disliked its Consequences, grew even to undervalue Liberty itself; whilst with others, who had been zealous for it, or Gainers by it, it was almost accounted Treason to suppose a Possibility, that the Rights of the People could ever be infring'd under the Government of those, who could claim no other Title to govern than by preserving them inviolate. Every one who considers must see how Men honestly intentioned might have been drawn on, by this Notion, into the wildest Absurdities, and most iniquitous Practices: The next Step might have been to advance, that the Liberties of
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the People were safer in the Hands of those who govern'd than in their own ; and Corruption have been introduced for a Ballance to Passion. Thus Majorities in Parliament might have been bought, and the Barrier of the British Liberty lost. The justest Complaints of the few, would have been then disregarded, because their past Actions was disliked, and their future Designs mistrusted ; and their best Advices ridiculed, because they were not likely to prevail ; and Men would have been taught, from thence, to treat lightly the most important Considerations. This Contempt for Reformation might have made their Concern grow cool for the Publick, and their Jealousies of their Adversaries occasioned a blind Confidence, in their own Leaders, till these Patrons of Freedom (like the False Teachers in Scripture) while they promised Liberty, were themselves the Servants of Corruption ; formed at last the worst Sort of Arbitrary Power, and that Power grew wanton, and played with the Necessities of the Publick.

What has the Madness of those Times not sacrificed to their Idol *Party* ? For that have Justice and Humanity been violated ; and the Strength of the Nation divided and exhausted. For that have Men of Experience and Abilities (the natural Force with which Providence had armed her) been neglected

lected and oppressed. What drove out so many useful Subjects, to beg abroad the Reward of their Merit, some of them from their more prudent and generous Enemies, with those very Scars which they had got in advancing, at their Loss, the Interest and Reputation of their own unwise, as well as ungrateful Country? What taught our Rivals in Commerce and Naval Power, those Arts which had preserved us the Superiority over them, and armed foreign Nations with so many Advantages, which may too soon prove formidable to our own? What, but the Effects of that Despair of which the *Party* Rage of those Times was the Cause? An Effect unjustifiable indeed; from any Cause, but too natural to Men who have too powerful Motives to persuade; Revenge, and Necessity. To this it has been owing that the Government of our Colonies, upon which the Wealth and Power of this Nation so greatly depend, have been carelessly sacrificed to repair the Fortunes, which Luxury or Party Extravagance had reduced; whilst Luxury has been encouraged, and Expence made almost necessary; to the diminishing the Weight of the People, by abating their Industry, and destroying their Virtue, and to the softening and breaking the Spirits of the Gentry and Nobility, and lessening their Power, by embarrassing their Fortunes, and
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ruining their Families; whilst the Abundance of those who prevailed has been profligately wasted, in corrupting the Morals of the Nation; and establishing a new kind of Commerce, destructive of all other, where Men found the Way to grow rich, by enslaving their Posterity, and impoverishing their Country.

To this it has been owing that in former Times, the Great Council of the Nation has been the Creature of Corruption or Violence: Where Conscience and publick Spirit gave way to Interestedness, and a new System of Honour founded upon Party; where a Seat in Parliament was looked upon as a good Provision, and a small Fortune laid out in an Election; as putting it out to the best Advantage, where Millions were granted from the Publick, by those who consider'd only who asked them, and the publick Accompts lay unlook'd into upon the Table, where Debate was Invective, and Prejudice Persuasion; where the Concerns of the Farmer and the Merchant were slighted, as of no publick Importance; where robbing their Country of her greatest Privilege, her Freedom of Choice, with the grossest and most open Injustice, was one of those things which Custom seem'd to authorize Men of Honour to do; where keeping Power or getting Money,

ney, where Interest, Envy, Malice, or a Love of Praise were the true Springs of all that was done.

Where was then the boasted Liberty of *Britain*? When only the Shadow of the Constitution subsisted, and that Shadow increased the Danger;— when the very Spirit of the Government was defeated, by Pretences of preserving it; and, instead of the Barrier of a Parliament between the Crown and the People, they had only the Fears of a Minister, or the Virtue of a Prince to hope from. For, however Men may wilfully blind themselves by Prejudice or Favour, let any one but reflect one half Hour, and he must allow, that a Parliament must be the great Source of the Happiness or Destruction of this Nation;— that to Parliaments she owes every valuable Part of her Liberty; that from Parliaments she derives every Infringement of it; that, when Parliaments, in this Nation, have been the real Representatives of the People, when their Elections and their Consultations have been truly free; when, in their Countries, Gentlemen have enquired into the Grievances, and, in Parliament, have provided against the Necessities of the People; when they have asserted their Dignity, and been indeed the Great Council of the Nation, other Countries have considered them with Reverence,

rence, and their own with Confidence, and Publick Welfare and Publick Satisfaction have been the Fruits of their Determinations : But, when Faction or Corruption have prevailed—when a Parliament has been the Representative of Borough-Brokers and Officers of the Revenue, when those who composed it, have wasted the Sessions in outrageous Animosities and shameless Abuses, and passed the rest of their Time in un-neighbourly Wrangles and peevish Opposition upon Trifles in the Country—when the Employment of a Parliament has seemed only to raise Taxes on the People, and authorize Ministerial Jobbs—when that Name has been prostituted to advance the Power of Parties, to protect the Designs of Ministers, and palliate the Encroachments of Princes, such Parliaments must be allowed to have been the most wicked Contrivance which the most unnatural *Englishman* could promote, to rob a deluded People of their Substance, their Reputation, and their Freedom, with a Shew of Justice, and a Pretence for Impunity.

The innocent Country has suffered for the Infamy of a few, and National Distraction and Want of Confidence Abroad have always been the Consequences which have naturally followed : The True *British* Constitution has been always dear to our own

Country, and the Envy of other Nations ; but the Machine of Government is liable to be disorder'd, and requires much Care and Circumspection. It is in the equal poizing of its Parts that its Perfection consists, and frequent Accidents may break the *Æquilibrium*, and destroy the System. Power is the Center to which each Part of it naturally tends, and the smallest Gain, tho' easily remedied at first, may soon grow to endanger the Whole.—Thus Jealousy and Suspicion are in *Britain* publick Virtues, and, when they have been properly placed and exerted, have always conduced to Publick Good—Continual Watchfulness and Care are needful to preserve this Constitution, and this Care is naturally and necessarily placed in the Representatives of the People ; for there only Self-Interest and Duty are most strongly united ; and tho' from Necessity of State, some unnatural Accident in Government has sometimes called upon the People to take Care themselves that the Constitution receive no Harm, yet such Interposition must be less orderly, and may be dangerous ; whereas, if they consider the Necessities of the Publick in the Choice of those Persons to whom they entrust it, they are certainly most properly and safely the Guardians of the Constitution. But if, at any Time, by Party, by Fashion, or Corruption, or by any new Influence in
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the Hands of the Government, the Voice of Parliament should become the Voice of an Administration, the Power of the Crown must, at the same time, become, by that Means, as absolute as that of the *Ottoman* Court, and of a more dangerous Nature. For, where they have a Vizir or a Porte to look up to for every Grievance they sustain, even the Slavish Disposition of a People long used to serve has Bounds of Bearing, beyond which they submit no longer : But what Redress to a Nation whose Oppression has Law to support it ? For such would be the Case when Corruption became the Basis and Dependence, the Cement of her Policy, when a Government pronounced their Ruin by so many Mouths, when it fixed their Fetters by so many Hands ; when every new Imposition, when every continued Grievance had the Name of a Parliament to authorize it ; when they should be told, it is the Work of your own Representatives, upon free Debate and long Consideration ?

Such has been the dangerous Circumstance into which the Fury of former Times had reduced this Nation, once the Blessing of her People, and the Envy of other Countries, rich in Herself, and strong from the Spirit of the People as well as from her Situation, shut out by Nature from the Quarrels of the Continent, her Commerce extended all over the World, her Colonies supporting and encreasing

sing it, feeding her Luxury, and providing for her Increase, her Friendship respected by all Nations, the Banker, the Merchant, and the Peace-maker of the World; till Party divided, loaded and corrupted her People, drove her out of her natural Entrenchments, into burthensome and perplexed Engagements Abroad, interrupted and lessened her Commerce, oppressed and weakned her Colonies, undermined her Happiness and Strength at Home, and destroyed her Weight and Influence on the Continent.

Such was the Policy of those Times, unattentive to the real Necessities of the People; which Necessity those Divisions had produced; while Parties were intent only upon harassing and weakning each other; while those who had got Power by deceiving the People, considered only how to secure it by betraying them, and those who were oppressed by that Power, considered only how they might destroy it; while the miserable Country, neglected and weakned by both Sides, was considered merely as the Booty for which they contended. Such was the Scene, which no disinterested true Lover of his Country could consider without the greatest Concern and Horror, however Men heated by Party, or led on by Ambition or Interest, might be concerned in the Differences of those Times: But an Attempt to recommend true Publick Spirit must, at that Time, have been vain
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and ineffectual, when to oppress and revenge, instead of to convince and unite, was evidently to have been the Consequence, which ever Side might succeed thro' the mean and mercenary Ends of the Mistress of a King, or the Flatterer of a Queen, or whatever Favourite the Weakness or Vice of those who governed might create, to traffick with the Authority of the Crown and the Rights of the People.

But, if the Follies and Passions of the past Times have brought on the present Situation, at least that Situation has made Men more sensible of those Follies and Passions; if the Load be great which the Nation sustains, at least she has this Advantage, that every Man must feel it; and, if her Situation be not desirable at Home and Abroad, this Felicity at least attends it, that no Man can now be imposed upon to imagine the contrary.

While Facts are doubtful, a Nation may be divided, and Men may construe the Success of their own Prejudices and Affections to be most for the general Advantage; but no Man, who has any Reflection, can think him self unconcerned in the real Interest of his Country, and no Man can think his Country in a flourishing Condition, when, after all the Glory with which this Nation has appeared in the Eyes of all People, after having asserted her own Liberty, and given Freedom to the World, after having humbled and supported Nations,
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and fixed and held the Balance of *Europe*, after a long Peace ; which those, whom she had brought low, have carefully employed, to recover their Strength, and recruit their Treasures. Waked by the Quarrels of *Europe*, from the Lethargy into which Party had lull'd her, she looked Abroad with Amazement, and at Home with Horror ; found almost no Memorial of a glorious War, but a grievous Load of Debt, in all Appearance inextricable, encreased when other Nations enriched themselves ; no Truce of more than twenty Years Peace, but numerous Engagements, jarring and perplexed, without an Enemy, but without a Friend ; unable either to engage in War, or maintain herself in Peace, without Reproach and Danger from other Powers ; arm'd by her Conduct with her own Arms, found herself without that Weight to maintain the Tranquility of *Europe* by her Authority, or to force it by her Arms, which she had formerly been used to exert with Success : Those Revenues mortgaged, which used to maintain respected Fleets and victorious Armies ; the Property of the Subject, which used always to be ready to support the just Engagements of Princes, and the Honour of the Nation, and supply their real Necessities, impoverished by long continued Contributions, and loaded with augmented Taxes, her Commerce endanger'd, her Merchants

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complaining, without her antient Frugality and Publick Spirit to support her.

This was once the Scene which every Man, who consider'd, beheld.— Tho' publick Spirit is always every Man's private Interest as well as his Duty, Necessity will prove what Virtue may suggest unregarded.— Though Reason and Argument could not convince Men of the Falseness of the Enchantment in which they took Delight, Danger broke thro' the Spell of Party, and the pleasing Delusion vanished.

The Eyes of most Men are opened, the Hearts of most Men are warmed ; but now is the critical Time, when it concerns them to distinguish truly, Whether it be a Fire to animate, and a Light to conduct them, or a Flame that will consume themselves, their Posterity and their Country : — If Interest or Ambition kindle it, if Prejudice or Party nourish it, it will die in Dishonour, or it will blaze in Confusion ; but, if it be a Spark of Publick Spirit, timely saved when it was almost extinguished in the Hearts of *Britons*, the Genius of our Country will watch over the vestal Fire which Heaven has given for her Preservation, the Spirit of the Constitution will cherish and encrease it : The Deputies of the People are those, whose Office it is to keep it alive ; but, if ever it is in Danger, whoever saves it, it shall be accounted to them for no Profanation.

This is the true Crisis upon which the Fate of *Britain*, in so great a Measure, depends; not whether one Set of Men shall prevail over another; not whether an Administration shall be changed; in such a Conjunction these are mean and little Considerations, not what will be the Event of the present unsettled State of *Europe*, whether we may still be involved in War, or whether we may be excluded the Advantages of a Peace: These, indeed, are important Considerations; but there is one more material, even than these; one, upon which every other depends, a first Human Mover of all future Events; from whence our Prosperity, our Commerce, our Weight abroad, and our Happiness at home must proceed, without which they must be despair'd of; and that Consideration is, whether *Britain* shall again resume her antient Spirit, upon which, and only upon which, depend her antient Prosperity and Glory; Whether the old Genius of *Britain* will revive; not a Genius of perverse Dissention and undistinguishing Rage; not a Genius of ill-founded Ostentation and necessitous Profuseness, squandering half her Substance to gratify her Passions, and wasting the rest to conceal her Poverty; but the wise old Genius of the Nation, by which she was rais'd and flourish'd; a Genius of temperate Jealousy and well-govern'd Warmth, prying and active, uncorrupted and unbyass'd,

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a Genius of Frugality and Virtue. This is a Concern with which no others can be put in Balance ; and this is the Crisis upon which its Fate determines ; for if, with such an Experience, and in such a Circumstance, when every Man sees and knows more or less the Situation of his Country ; if, in such a Case, any Obstacles can prevent Publick Spirit prevailing, Corruption and Party may triumph securely for the future ; for no Man can have Ignorance to plead for his Error : Wilful Ignorance is wilful Error ; and, when the Clamours of the Nation mark out Grievances, imaginary or real, what Man of Sense can think it a Justification to his Country, or a future Satisfaction to himself, that, acting blindly, without Information, he has to say, that this Relation, or that Friend has told him, that these Clamours are Faction.

Who is there that will not say, at least, that in the Preservation of the Constitution, every *Briton's* particular Interest and Happiness must consist ? And will it not then deserve a frequent Enquiry to examine the Foundations of a Structure of such Importance ? In this Nation, which has suffered so much to purchase and maintain her Freedom, for which so many Millions have been given, so many noble Lives have been lost, for which Kings have been dethroned ; in this Nation, shall any Man be cautious in examining the Balance of the Constitution, upon which

that Freedom so critically may depend, lest he should displease Persons in Power, by seeming to mistrust an Administration? In a Government where Parts, by the Nature of Humankind, cannot be expected always to preserve their Limits, and where such Danger attends the exceeding them; from what unaccountable Policy, or from what slavish Custom can it proceed, that any Man can construe it Faction to examine, or Innovation to remedy any Alterations in the System of Government?

If it be alledg'd from authentick Papers, and from avow'd Experience, that after so many Millions rais'd upon the Publick, and after so long a Peace in *Europe*, the Debt of the Nation is still about fifty Millions, if it be true, that the Expence of the Nation amounts to near seven Millions *per Ann.* of which near one goes to the Civil-List, and the rest to answer the Interest of the Debt and the Expence of the Year; if this be rais'd with so much Difficulty, that there is no new Tax to be invented, and no old one to be encreased, if the Land so long burthened directly with the Land-Tax, and indirectly with so many others, can with Difficulty enough support two Shillings in the Pound; and that, together with the Malt, are found to fall short considerably of what they are given for, and thereby to leave a Deficiency charged upon the Grants of the following

following Year, if there be no Means left of supplying that and other Deficiencies, or of answering what more is granted for the annual Service beyond what the Land and Malt will produce, without seizing upon that Fund which was set apart for reducing the Debts of the Publick, and, by this Means, the Sinking Fund is come to be considered as a necessary Branch to compleat the current Service of the Year, if the Sinking Fund be now granted for a Sum beyond what it actually produces, and, by that Means, a new Deficiency is created, if there be no way left to supply this Deficiency in that Fund but by mortgaging Branches of the Fund itself, and thereby creating a new Debt, if, by this Diminution of the Produce of the Sinking Fund, in order to answer the Deficiency of the past Year, the next Year's Deficiency must of Necessity be proportionably encreased, if, by this Means, the Sinking Fund must be consumed in a growing Progression, and a new Debt contracted upon the only Fund we have left to discharge the old; will this be no Matter of Enquiry to any Man who has the Credit, the Reputation, or even the Safety of his Country at Heart?

If great Numbers of Officers, and all in the Power of the Crown, have been raised and dispersed all over the Kingdom for the Management of these Revenues, and this seemingly inextricable Debt necessitate their
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Continuance, if a very considerable Number of Land Forces be maintain'd in this Nation, and, if there is no Prospect of seeing that Army in any great Measure reduced, when in Times of general and avowed Tranquillity it has been declared necessary, will not these Considerations deserve the Attention of every Man who would be thought to have any Regard for the Constitution of his Country? If it be complain'd of, that Trade is greatly interrupted and lessened from burthensome Impositions and from want of Hands, that the Colonies, so beneficial to this Nation, are neither Peopled for Advantage nor for Safety, if some of them deserted, unarmed, and defenceless, sinking under an excessive rate of Interest and without Credit, their Trade loaded with heavy Taxes and many Discouragements, are unable to provide for their own Preservation, and others preserve themselves by improving Manufactures and carrying on a Trade destructive of those in their Mother Country, if it be apprehended that the Noise of our extensive Negotiations should be only subfided into a suspicious Calm, if these Matters of Complaint, and others, are become received Opinions with Multitudes, do they not, even from that single Consideration, deserve Enquiry?

Let these Matters of Complaint be real or imaginary, an Enquiry is equally necessary;
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in the one Case the Safety, in the other the Credit and Interest of the Nation require it. For what will the Circumstance of this Nation be, if in Peace she sustains the Burden of War, unable to encrease her Expence to any considerable Degree without destroying her Credit or ruining the Land? Will she not be insulted, or neglected at least, by other Powers, and will not her Freedom depend upon the Disposition of those who govern? For if the Power of the Crown was thought too great heretofore, when the Revenue of the Crown could hardly suffice to answer the Expences of the Publick, when, in Times of Perplexity and Danger of disputed Titles and divided Inclinations, this Nation supported herself with Honour without the Assistance of an Army, (while the Wisdom of *Elizabeth* and the Ability and Integrity of her Councils, her known Love to her Subjects and Concern for their Interests, and her Reputation of Constancy and Spirit in other Nations made her more secure at Home and more respected Abroad than if she had garrison'd an Army of Forty Thousand Men all over the Country) if the Power of the Crown was dangerous, when the *Habeas Corpus* had never been suspended, before Corruption was introduced, when the Name of a Land Tax was unknown, and others were inconsiderable, when a publick Debt was unthought of, when there were
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none of those swarms of Officers which the Necessities of the Publick have since thrown into the Hands of the Government, and which may one Day be made very instrumental in influencing Elections where the Crown ought never to interfere, if, in those Times, when the Glory of the Nation and the Dignity of her Crown were well supported for near Five Millions *per Annum* less than what has been rais'd of late Years as a Thing of Course, if then the Power of the Crown was to be fear'd, what may it be hereafter, if large Armies should be maintain'd in absolute Dependence on the Crown, a Dependence which too naturally leads to absolute Authority, a Dependence which may one Day be used to awe the Freedom of Elections, or to outweigh the Freedom of Parliament, (for it is not enough to be satisfy'd of the Virtue and Integrity of those who, for the present, compose or command an Army; the natural Tendency of a flux Body ought at all Times to be consider'd, the probable Consequences of it ought to be guarded against) if, adding to that Influence which Creation gives the Crown in one House of Parliament, Corruption should prevail in this Nation, and the large Revenues of the Crown, now distinct from the publick Revenues, and the added Influence of the Crown from the sole Management of the vast Revenues of the Publick, and the sole No-
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mination of so many Officers employ'd in them, and dispersed all over the Kingdom; should elect a Majority of the other House; as it should be fix'd upon in the Closet of a Minister, a Majority to give Sanction to the Edicts of the Crown, and raise whatever Subsidies, and continue or encrease whatever Forces directed, should this ever be the Case; let any Man consider in what the Shew of a Parliament or the Sound of Freedom would avail the Nation: Let any Man consider; whether this might not have been the natural Consequence of such Measures as he has seen, or known to have been, pursu'd.

I think no Man will deny that a dispassionate Enquiry into the true State of Things, without little personal Views or Animosities; not only would be of Advantage; but is of Necessity to this Nation in her present Situation: That all possible Savings in Expence; of all kinds, may be made; that some Scheme may be thought of to lessen; and in Time discharge, the National Debt, that Frauds and other Grievances which embarrass Trade may be provided against; that the Commerce, Freedom and Safety of the Colonies may be secured, that all Innovations in the Government may be retrench'd, or, where found necessary to be continu'd, may be counterpoiz'd, that the Nation may provide for her future Prosperity; and in Peace prepare for any future Necessity of engaging

in War, that the Jealousies and Complaints of the Nation may be silenc'd, and the true Balance of the Constitution settled and secured.

Let us now consider wherein lies the Danger of these good and necessary Ends being defeated. And this Consideration will lead us to that Party Spirit, which the Author has already described; a mistaken Principle, founded upon Persons, not upon Things, and consequently sacrificing the latter to the former. Whether the Remains of this Spirit shall prevail, or be disarmed, whether Persons or Facts shall take Place, in this necessitous Condition of our Country, is now in the Balance.

Let but a little Consideration be thrown into the publick Scale, and it will soon outweigh the other with all its Advantages; let Men but divest themselves of Partiality for a little while, upon this solemn Occasion; and they will surely not be in haste to resume it; let them consider, even upon a Sort of Interest, how ill any Advantage can repay them for the Loss which every Man must sustain in every Diminution of the Wealth and Freedom of his Country, which necessarily diffuses its Prosperity or Ruin to every Branch of it; let them consider that, however Vanity and Fashion may stifle it for the present, the Hour of Reflection will take Place, and embitter all their Enjoyments; let them look round and see, whether Happiness and Fame wait

wait upon Wealth or Authority; let them weigh the Absurdity and Injustice of Prejudice, of gratifying their own Passions at the Expence of the Publick; let them weigh the Unreasonableness and Folly of Partiality, of repaying private Obligations from the publick Store, and preferring a Set of Men to the whole, let Men but enquire, and they must unite Distress, at least, will unite all who love their Country or themselves, and since Impartiality and Union can only save this Nation, even Distress, when it produces them, is welcome.

In this Circumstance of the Nation was this Parliament chosen, upon whose Conduct the Eyes of *Europe* are fix'd with a respectful Attention, to whom, next to Providence, a distressed Nation looks up for Preservation and Prosperity; a Parliament, from whom the Nation has as great a Security as the Importance of the Trust requir'd; a Parliament, where Decency and Temper have prevail'd, in the same proportion in which Jealousy of State and publick Spirit have encreas'd; where Parties have been Checks upon themselves, and where Men have arisen to be a Check upon Parties; where the Honour of Parliament, long prostituted by all Sides to mean and corrupt Views in a most essential Point, has been illustriously redeem'd; where the People have seen their

most valuable Right preserved sacred, and Justice and publick Spirit triumph over Design and Party.

This Prospect encouraged the Author of this Treatise to give his Thoughts to the Publick. Warm in the Cause of his Country, he must have felt her Distress; but despising Interest and afraid of Ambition, detesting all Party, and concern'd for no private Success, he would have lamented his whole Life in Silence, while Party was the only Consideration: But, when the first Spark broke forth of that Light which might lead to national Good, weak as they were, he judg'd his Endeavours to encrease it a Debt to his Country: Courting no Favour, fearing no Resentment, desiring no Reward, he endeavour'd to recommend that Impartial Contempt for private Ends and that disinterested Zeal for Publick Good which he feels in his own Breast.

To you therefore, from whom your Country hopes for Preservation, he humbly introduces this Recommendation, which your Conduct encouraged, of the only Means which can preserve her. If his Treatise shall meet with that Reception which the Principle deserves from whence it flows, his greatest Satisfaction in his Concealment will arise from the Prospect of that Principle prevailing. Truth gains no real Support from the Credit of an Author, and loses no real Strength from his being inconsiderable

considerable or unknown : Your Example will enforce his Arguments, Your Councils will effect his Ends. If any one, offended with an Attempt contrary to his Practise or his Profit, shall, to improve his Gain or relieve his Sterility of Matter, fallaciously represent gross Misconstructions and curiously spin out Invectives against them, dissect Sentences, and inveigh against Words, he abandons his Style without concern to their Amusement ; and the little Criticks shall enjoy their little Rage unreprieved and unrepented : But, for the Principle of the Author, there shall not be found a severer Critick than himself.

If any one shall object to this Treatise, that it is a Chimerical System of Perfection, the Practise of which is indeed to be wished, but such, as no Man conversant in the World will expect, considering the Frailties to which Human kind is naturally subject, the Author answers, that in Men's private Practise this Objection would have its Weight ; but what a private Man may be diverted from pursuing constantly by Passions and Accidents, against which he may not always be upon his Guard, is not too much to expect from a Parliament, when Men act upon Deliberation, and ought always to be prepared against every Thing which from byassing their Judgments may lead them to abuse their Trust, and if Party be in either Scale, a few disinterested Men may
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turn the Balance in Favour of their Country. If those who constitute a Parliament converse indeed only in Clans, and, excluding their Judgment and Honour from their Right, adopt other Men's Opinions for their own, if they ridicule or are deaf to Argument, and call Prejudice Principle, and Obstinacy Virtue, in such a Case indeed, even that venerable Assembly would lose both its Utility and Dignity, and, instead of finding Wisdom from a Multitude of Counsellors, as Millions of Cyphers put together, will count no more than one Cypher, so Numbers of passionate prejudiced unreasonable Persons would act but as one passionate prejudiced unreasonable Man: But, because this has been the Case when the Madness of Party was at the highest Pitch, to infer from thence, that therefore it is in vain ever to expect a different Conduct, were to exclude all Endeavours of Amendment in every Case; it were to advance, that Reformation is not to be attempted, because it is most wanted, it were an Absurdity in reasoning, which must answer itself; it were a Libel which the Conduct of the present Parliament will sufficiently confute. If it shall be objected by any one to this Treatise, that it is of too general a Nature, the Author answers, that this is not an Enquiry but an Exhortation to enquire; that confining itself to the known Mischievousness of Party-Spirit it asserts no particular contested present Grievance, but only

only states, as worthy of a thorough and impartial Examination, such Subjects of Clamour as are inconvenient, if without Foundation, and if they have a Foundation are dangerous. If any one shall object that this Treatise is written with a Design to serve any Party, he must want Candour or Judgment, he will not deserve Notice. If any one shall think that a Pretence to Impartiality and Independency may be made use of by Parties to dazzle the Eyes of the Multitude, and, concealing their own Designs, to draw in Men, upright in their Intentions, to advance ill Purposes, the Author allows, that the Multitude, who can only be Authors of great Mischiefs, are always led into those Mischiefs from an Opinion of some good End: A few Men, when once they have set themselves above those Ties of Society, by which Men are restrain'd from ill Actions, may find their Personal interested Account in pursuing the worst Designs; but, Virtue is, by the Nature of Things, made so necessary to the World, that no Interest arising from a tainted Source can diffuse itself to the Multitude; the Interest of Society can break none of the Ties of Society, and therefore the Intentions of the Multitude, even from an interested View, are always upright: But, tho' there is no Instance of a Multitude acting without a plausible Pretence, yet it must be allow'd that the Pretence

Pretence has been often only plausible ; they would not meddle to their own Mischief ; but they love to be meddling, and those who cannot effect their own Ends without them, find out where the Phrenzy lies, and and set the Multitude a madding ; thus Religion and Liberty, two awful Names, the Cause of God, and the Cause of Mankind, have been Instruments of the greatest Villanies and Mischiefs, in the Hands of artful and designing Men : But let any Man consider this Treatise impartially, and he must own, that the Intention is plainly, so far from assisting the Artifices of Party, that it is to guard against them ; for Party will abide no Decision of Facts, and the Cause of this Treatise is rested upon that. A perplexed Clamour, an abusive Invective may be serviceable to Party, but a dispassionate Enquiry into Things, which are made the Subjects of Clamour, can only be calculated for Peace and Publick Welfare ; whatever attacks an Administration will please Party, but whatever attacks Measures, upon which Profit or Power depend, will neither serve nor please any Man who acts from Interest or Ambition : In Facts alone is the Publick concerned, and he who attaches himself to Facts, is certainly the Friend of the Publick ; for while he keeps the Nation attentive to her real Interest, he defeats the dangerous Power of Leading Party Men ;
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he reduces them to their proper Station to be the Servants, not the Masters of the Publick, destroys their mysterious Power, by which they would lead their Followers where Vanity or Interest lead them, like *German* Chiefs who live by the Sale of their Subjects ; whereas, if the Conduct herein recommended were pursued, they must hold their Authority and their Reputation from their Integrity, their Weight would be the only Weight of the Nation attentive to her own Concerns, and they would be taught that Facts, not they, were the Leaders. If any one shall alledge, that Complaints against Persons in Power have been, and will always be, raised and fomented by those who would supplant them, the Authors admits, that while Emulation, Ambition and Avarice have Place in the World, Complaints against Persons in Power will always be preferr'd ; and, when Complaints have no other Rise or Tendency ; when the sole Object of the Dissention is to preserve or gain Power, a true Lover of his Country will consider them with some Contempt and some Concern, whilst he can have no Comfort in the Prospect of either Side succeeding ; but because there have always been Complaints against Persons in Power, and those often, without Foundation, to infer from thence, that therefore all Complaints from Persons out of Power are not to be regarded,

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would be the falsest and most dangerous Way of reasoning. Let none imagine that the Picture which the Author has drawn of past Times, or the Reflections he has made upon the present, have been with the least Intention to asperse or hurt this or any other Administration or Person ; what he relates are Facts, within the Memory of many, within the Knowledge of every Man in the Kingdom, what he remarks are natural necessary Consequences, Consequences in which the Happiness and Safety of this Nation are greatly concerned ; many of these Facts are of antient Derivation, tho' their Effects are recent ; in different Reigns they have happened, and when different Sets of Men have prevailed ; many of them it will please perhaps, no Set of Men to have related ; many of them, perhaps, upon Enquiry may be found to have been almost necessary Consequences of former Errors, Links of one great Chain of mischievous Events, continu'd thro' Numbers of Years, and deriv'd from Party ; the narrow bounded Views of one Set of Men have given Rise to those of their Successors, 'till Example and Impunity seem'd to authorize, and the perverted Spirit of the Nation even, in some Degree, to necessitate Measures, of which the first Authors can never be sufficiently branded.

But

But the Consequences are become of such Importance, that who the Authors of past Mischiefs have been, appears now, but a little Consideration; the Effects claim all our Attention: Who shall obstruct Publick Good, for the future, we must know: But, if any there are now alive who have had any Hand in those past Mischiefs, of which we feel the Effects, let them set their Hands to the great Work of Reformation, and blot out all Remembrance of the past: They can excuse themselves no longer from the Necessity of pursuing the same mischievous Conduct, or from Want of Materials to reform: The Materials are in their Power, and the Work will be required at their Hands; let them close their Eyes upon the Prosperity of their Country: After-Times shall mark only the bright Part of their Conduct, their Name shall be blest, and their Posterity had in Honour; but, if they will persist to their Country's Undoing, let their Country's Curse, and their Country's Revenge overtake them! If any one would insinuate, that, supposing the Nation to be in the Circumstances which have been described, yet that it would be impolitick and dangerous to lay open her Necessity to the Publick. The Author answers, that, when the Complaints of the Merchant, whether just or imaginary, are heard all over *Europe*, when the Debts of the Nation and the Cla-

mours of the People, whether with Founda-
 tion or from Party, are known every where,
 when a long Paper War has sufficiently
 made known the Distress of the Nation,
 pretended or real, wherefore is it not to be
 mention'd with a View to remove it? And,
 as it would be ridiculous to decline telling
 a Friend his true Condition, that he might
 be induced to take proper Methods for his
 Recovery, lest the Relation should disturb
 him, and so let him die for Fear of giving
 him the Spleen, so would it be equally ab-
 surd not to lay open the Distress of the Na-
 tion, in Order to retrieve it, from an Ap-
 prehension of disquieting the People, and
 to let them be undone for Fear of making
 them uneasy; and even that Argument, bad
 as it is, is here excluded, since the Circum-
 stance of the Nation has been long publick-
 ly represented in the worst Light. Faction
 can only be judged of by its Conduct and
 Tendency. If any one should paint imagi-
 nary Evils, if he should strive to inflame a
 Nation with a Relation of even real Calami-
 ties, when they were without Redress, this
 might be construed Faction: But here there
 is no Cause for Despair: The Danger of
 this Nation is half over, when once plainly
 seen: *Britain* may be seduced, but not sub-
 dued, into Ruin. Tho' her Calamity were
 at the highest Pitch, tho' her Commerce
 were ruin'd, and her Colonies destroy'd,
 tho'

tho' empoverish'd and brav'd, exhausted and oppress'd, the Genius of *Britain* would be formidable still, when rous'd, while her Forests could furnish Ships, her Fields nourish Men, and the Love of Liberty animate them; so many Thousands of Men, with their Eyes open, would not be oppress'd. If all the rest were lost, they would think Virtue and Liberty worth defending: They would remember that to these they owed their Wealth and their Power, themselves most valuable, and a Fund for receiving them again. In such a Cause they would beat their Plough-Shares into Swords, and their Pruning-Hooks into Spears, and the Genius of *Britain* would prevail; but not to Pamper the Luxury of Party, or gratify the Insolence or Vanity of any Men whatsoever: In the Measures mindful of the End, and jealous of maintaining and securing that Freedom, which animated those Measures.

But, however bad the Circumstance of the Nation may be, this Trial, we may hope, is not likely to exist in such a Degree, and, by your Integrity and Wisdom, will be entirely prevented. To you the Colonies look up for their Freedom and Safety; to you the Merchant for Satisfaction for his Losses, and Encouragement in his Commerce; to you your Country looks up for Redress
of

of Grievances, for their Honour, and for the Preservation of her Constitution: Long harrassed by Parties, usurping by Turns the Name of Patriots; long sacrificed and sold by Men assuming, by Corruption or Violence, the Name of Parliament, in you she looks for her old Refuge, her constant Friend in all her Distresses; a Parliament, such as Parliaments ought to be, the Guardian of the Constitution, and of the Interests of the People. She hopes it from the Characters of those of which this Parliament is composed; she hopes it from the Measures you have hitherto pursu'd; she hopes it from this important Crisis of her future Ruin or Prosperity. It is not common Business that is now before you, repairing Highways, passing private Bills, and raising the necessary Expence of the Year; but it is the Cause of your Country, and, in that, the Private Interest of Thousands, and your own Interest and Honour collectively and separately. In this Circumstance every Man stands upon his Trial to Posterity, and it is not only the present Time but succeeding Ages shall mark him out with Infamy or Honour.

In this Circumstance you will Consider, that the first Principle of Government is the Happiness of Society, by that only cemented and continued: You will remember, that the Happiness of this Nation consists in
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the Freedom and Independency of her Constitution, to which she has so many Indefeazable Rights ; which she holds from God, as founded on his Law the Law of Nature, the first Principle of Self-Defence, which she has purchased at the Expence of so much Blood, and so much Treasure ; which she holds from her Princes by so many strong Laws and solemn Compacts ; which she holds from this Family by the same Tenures, by which they hold the Crown which they wear. If there be a Wound, you will lay it open deep, that you may Cure more effectually, and be sure that the Bottom is sound, before you think of making outward Appearances fair ; you will strike at the Root of all Mischiefs, and, to remove the Effects, trace out and destroy the Cause ; you will consider, that the Consequences of our Divisions are Greivous, but that Division is the real Grievance ; you will consider, that, tho' Principles may be eternally true, their Consequences cannot be immutable, and that the same Conduct, which Publick Spirit may prompt at one Time, may, at another, be the surest Means of destroying it ; that Persons and Principles may deceive, but Facts well weighed with their Consequences can not mislead ; you will remember, that from the Prevalence of Party, and the Dependency of Parliaments have flower'd all the Mischiefs which this Nation has sustain'd,
and

and under which the still Labours; here you will fire your first Attention, and, as you have yourselves asserted the Justice of Parliament, you will provide for the Justice of future Parliaments, by securing that their Elections and Consultations shall be absolutely free; you will consider, that what Mischiefs have been produced by a Spirit of Corruption, and Dependency can only be remedied by a contrary Spirit, a generous Unconcern for Private Advantage, any farther than it depends upon Publick Good, or rather a Prudent Consideration, that every Man's nearest Interests must be inseparable from that of his Country: That, to remedy the Mischiefs past, and to provide for future Welfare, *Absolute Incorruption*, and *Absolute Independence* are necessary: For not only Pensions and Places may be Corruption, and following the Dictates of a Minister Dependence, others there are as dangerous, tho' more plausible, a Corruption from Prejudices, or Affections, or future Private Views, a Dependence upon Persons and Parties; you will watch those who would Reform, but you would suspect those who would ridicule Reformation; you will sit attentive to the Complaints of the People, and undeceive them misled, or redress them injur'd; your Conduct will silence their Clamours, in despite of Prejudice or Faction; when they shall see you led blindly by no Administration

tion or Party, govern'd only by Publick Spirit, and by Publick Good; when they shall see Men of Rank, not considering Employments and Honour as due to their Birth, but their Labour and Industry as made by their Birth, a Debt to their Country; when they shall see young Men of Fortune, instead of wasting their Leisure in Luxury, improving it by Application, not enervating their Minds in Sloth, not deadening their Senses of Virtue in Pleasure, but giving with Zeal to their Country that Alacrity of Mind, and that Vigour of Constitution, which were to that End endow'd with Leisure and Affluence; when they shall see Men not led, by mistaken Interest or Vanity, to assist the Masters who must despise them, in enslaving the Posterity which must curse them, not discouraged by a glorious and easy Poverty; not byass'd by the Persuasions or Threats of dependent Parents, to sacrifice their own present and future Honour and Interest, to their mean Apprehensions or meaner Profits; when they shall see those, on whom the next Age must depend, the Glory and the Shame of this; when they shall see their Interests uppermost in all your Consultations, and the reluctant Hand of Party forced to assist in the great Work of Reformation.

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Happy

Happy the past Divisions of our Country !
 her Treasures well spent ! her Blood well
 spilt ! if Experience, however dearly bought,
 preserve and encrease this Spirit, which it
 has rais'd, of impartial Zeal for Publick
 Good.

Happy those ! who have been long Spec-
 tators of the dreadful Scene of Corruption
 and Party, if their latest Hours should be
 employ'd in unravelling those Mysteries
 of Iniquity, and transmitting to their Poste-
 rity a Country worth inheriting, worth
 preserving.

But happiest they ! who shall act so great
 a Part on their first Entrance upon the Stage
 of the World ; for whom Foreign Nations
 shall contract early Esteem and Reverence ;
 in whom their Country shall place an early
 Confidence and Dependance ; whose first
 Appearance shall be hail'd with Applause ;
 whose leisure Hours shall be blest with the
 Heart enlivening Transport of conscious
 Virtue ; whose Youth shall promise long
 to enjoy the delightful Prospect of Thou-
 sands blest with that Liberty and Pros-
 perity which they have secured to them ;
 whom latest Posterity shall Record and
 Honour.

Length

Length of happy Days, Authority and Fame, far outweighing dependent Wealth or Grandeur, far outbalancing the forc'd Dislike of Parents, or the empty Threats of Power, these are the Rewards of Publick Spirits. These are the Rewards which your Country prepares for you. Let her Expectations, so well founded, so highly rais'd, not be now overthrown : For, if this Parliament could disappoint her Hopes, the People must despair : And what might be the Consequence of such Despair from such a People ?

F I N I S.



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